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Interracial and Intergenerational Conflict in Secondary Schools*

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*This report is an expanded and edited version of a presentation made to the Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August, 1968. While it is still in draft form, we are using it as a conceptual base from which to plan the project on "Conflict Intervention in Secondary Schools."

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Abstract:

A paper which expresses the hope that, through the resolution of conflict, the quality of both interracial and intergenerational relations and of education itself can be improved. Talks, with the aid of quotations from teachers, students, and administrators, about some of the important issues which work toward the development of intergroup tensions: peer support (or lack of it), relations between black and white peer groups, educators' styles, professional roles and community relations. Solutions are suggested in such resolution techniques as staff and faculty training in race relations, negotiations training on both student and administrative levels, acceptance of role reciprocity, curriculum change and community control, as well as such radical changes as restructuring and consultant interventions in crises.

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I. Introduction to the Topic

The issues we are concerned with are highlighted by the incidence of serious interracial and intergenerational conflict in urban and semi-urban high schools across the nation. In an increasing number of communities white students and black students, black students and white educators, or just plain students and educators have engaged in disruptive, sometimes violent, and often nonresolved forms of social conflict. The Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence reports that in the first four months of 1968, "44% of all recorded (civil) disorders involved schools .... (and) there has been a three-fold increase over the entire year 1967".[1] Even where violent outbursts have not occurred, serious alienation from learning and mutual distrust in one another have characterized interracial and intergenerational contact and interaction in a number of schools. Often the roots of these explosive tensions are within the school itself; at other times they are responsive to, or promoted by, factors in the local and national community. Whatever the specific form or cause in each case, the number and severity of such explosions is fast publicizing a national educational crisis.

One of the most distressing products of these situations is the perspective that nothing of any educative value can be accomplished. The resulting administrative postures of instituting repressive school or police controls, of expelling students, of surrendering a school to chaos, or of wholesale teacher resignations are essentially disastrous examples of our inability to resolve conflicts productively. Often schools are patched up enough to delay or drive underground the expression of real concerns and the exploration of important issues; a strategy guaranteed to create other explosions later. A useful perspective for educators

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[1] These data do not include a breakdown between secondary school and college level targets. See: Riot Data Review, Brandeis University, Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence, August, 1968.

could be an indication that these situations are not entirely hopeless, and that some educationally fruitful means of preventing, managing, rebuilding from, or responding to such crises may indeed exist.

We believe that there may be some positive alternatives to explore; one might derive and possibly test new educational policies that may more fruitfully anticipate and respond to the issues and processes underlying such crises. Our concern for change and new procedures stems from, but is by no means limited to, the critical episodes of school disruption and even violence. Disruption represents an undeniable crisis, but it is a crisis that is defined in terms of the breakdown of administrative control and normal procedures. For many youngsters experiencing irrelevance, obselesence, failure and even brutality in their school encounters, crisis and disruption is a continuing part of their educational life. Thus, a comprehensive view and treatment of school "crises" and conflicts will necessitate new policies that respond to the variety of student, teacher, administrator and community crises. Although it is a truism that school life and community life are interdependent, there may be some policy alternatives for local schools that do not depend for success upon wholesale change in the political, social and economic character of the American society. It is our intention in this report to examine the character of such contemporary conflict, to consider the relevance of social scientific knowledge for understanding the issues, and to pose for consideration some reasonable alternatives to present school policy.

II. Interracial and Intergenerational Relations In Schools

This section consists of an interpretive review of recent social scientific inquiry into secondary education. Our purpose is to discover, to organize and perhaps to reorganize the studies most relevant to an understanding of the contemporary phenomena of violence, strikes, boycotts, etc. in secondary schools. We have

grouped these scientific efforts into several streams of thought relevant to: adolescent school patterns and values; interracial relations among students; educators' values and styles; professional roles and organizations; and intergroup conflict processes.

In general, the several streams of relevant literature can be divided according to their focus upon two major contexts within which issues are being raised. One context includes the conflicts that appear to be between racial groups of students. These conflicts seem to develop from community tensions and structures, from students' ignorance of each other, as well as from racial fears and hostilities. They may be catalyzed in the high school because such institutions sometimes provide youngsters of different races and community sub-groups with their first sustained, perhaps competitive, contact.

A second major context for conflict lies in the relations between students and teachers, or between students and administrators. Sometimes this, too, appears to be a racial event; in many racially mixed schools there is a higher percentage of Negro students than Negro teachers. Often what really occurs is that Negro youngsters are trying to deal with teachers and administrators who just happen to be white. The major issue may or may not be interracial, it may as well be an intergenerational episode wherein youngsters confront the maintenance, direction and/or degree of adult control, and the low quality, obselescence or pain of their high school experience. In mixed schools, where whites are in the majority or in a substantial minority, we sometimes have found black and white students uniting in actions directed against school officials.

Adolescent School Patterns and Values

Most investigations of youth and adolescents in school have treated youngsters as more or less passive psychological entities determined by the receipt of cultural influences and family and peer pressures. In addition, most studies have concentrated

upon academic performance, or the barriers and facilitators to such performance in school facilities and personnel and in students' motivations. The concern for an approaching meritocracy thus has prematurely narrowed many investigations to a sole focus upon achievement in academic spheres. Few studies have viewed adolescents as willful or independent actors reponding to other than distal background factors.[2]

There also have been few systematic research efforts concerning the discovery or application of adolescents' political and social values to their experiences at home and at school. For example, Havighurst and his colleagues define "adult competence" as involving no more than becoming "successful workers, parents, husbands, wives and homemakers".[3] Since they found young people defining their own images of adulthood solely in these terms, the authors did not explore broader views of adult role conceptions. Remmers and Franklin, in their survey of secondary school students, report the presence and absence of democratic attitudes based upon abstract statements of views of the political order and of civil liberties.[4] But what we need to know is how such views relate to students' own experiences in school and their desires or lack of desires for collective influence upon school decision-making? For instance, a large part of contemporary school crises undoubtedly are concerned to some degree with what Hess and others call "antangonistic interaction over the division of power".[5] Studies of political socialization that focus upon

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[2]There are, of course, some significant exceptions in the "youth sympathetic" writings of critics such as Goodman, P. Growing Up Absurd, New York, Vintage, 1962; Mays, J.B. The Young Pretenders, New York, Schocken Books, 1965; and Friedenberg, E. The Vanishing Adolescent, New York, Dell, 1962.

[3]Havighurst, R., Growing Up in River City, New York, Wiley, 1962.

[4]Remmers, H.H., and Franklin, R.D., "Sweet Land of Liberty", Phi Delta Kappa, 1962, October 22-27.

[5]Hess, R. Political socialization in the schools. Harvard Education Review, 1968, 38, 528-536.

civics courses, vague images of the moral order and reactions to early child-rearing patterns do not help us deal with these contemporary phenomena.

In comparing young people in different kinds of cities, Douvan and Adelson[6] found that big-city adolescents are more often rebellious toward adult authority than are youngsters from suburban or small city areas. Both large city and suburban youngsters showed heightened interest and eagerness for adult status, preferred being with older youngsters themselves, and wanted primarily adult social activities for their clubs. In addition, middle-class boys reported more disagreements with parents than did lower-class boys. Experiences in geographic mobility differentiated class groups even further; middle-class youngsters who had experienced family movement were less tied to peers, more encouraged by parents to be autonomous, and more often asserted that they would rely on their own judgment in making decisions. Urban schools, with their mix of middle and lower class youth, and suburban schools, with their preponderantly middle class mobile student populations, may thus be seen as coping with youngsters who for a variety of reasons are likely to be rebellious against adult controls or insistent upon personal and social autonomy.

When findings regarding adolescent development patterns are combined with studies of the reactions of school personnel, the conditions precipitating rebellion become clearer. Getzels and Jackson[7] report that adolescents who scored high on a test of creativity, as opposed to those who were high on IO alone, were less interested in conforming to teachers' demands, and the personal traits they preferred for themselves were negatively correlated with those they felt their teachers preferred. Correspondingly, teachers in this study preferred the high IQ students to

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[6] Douvan, E. and Adelson, J., The Adolescent Experience, New York, Wiley, 1966.

[7] Getzels, J.S. and Jackson, P.W., "The Study of Giftedness: A Multidimensional Approach", In The Gifted Student, Cooperative Research Monograph No. 2, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C., U S. Government Printing Office, 1960, 1-18.

the highly creative ones. In a similar vein, Coleman[8] points out the differences between the attitudes of teachers and students in his study; students consistently valued athletics and appearance over scholarship. Moreover, most teachers (72%) reported that they felt their brilliant students were unfit for positions of social leadership. Coleman sees learning, as structured by high schools, as a totally individualistic effort offering little basis for group formation or for satisfaction of the social needs of adolescents. Youngsters who act to maximize these needs and who strive for what they see as positive qualities (independence, social status and respect), must therefore come into conflict with the intermediate goals and policies which teachers establish for them (high grades, preparation for careers, etc.).

An unusually rich perspective on student alienation from school is provided by Rhea's study of students in two leading urban high schools.[9] Rhea found that these relatively affluent youngsters were highly accepting of school requirements and limitations, and denied that they were powerless or desired more independence. However, their involvement in school was due not to intrinsic interest in learning per se, nor to enjoyment of the school experience, but rather to their intense motivation to get good grades and positive records which would further their college aspirations. This intense need facilitated their belief that everything in the school, including repressive teachers, was benevolently intended for the furthering of their aspirations. The major implication of Rhea's findings is that students who do not experience such intense motivation for success in the future,

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[8]Coleman, J. The Adolescent Society, Glencoe, Free Press, 1949.

[9]Rhea, B. "Institutional Paternalism in High Schools", The Urban Review, 1968, February 13-15, 34.

or who perceive that the school actually presents an obstacle to their own goals, are less predisposed to share a blanket faith in the benevolent paternalism of the institution. In fact they may rebel against it.

Rebellion against the school evidently can take several different forms. Havighurst and Taba[10] discuss "the defiant person" and "the unadjusted person", who by reason of personal moral development or adverse circumstances behave in hostile or apathetic ways. The authors take care to distinguish these types from "the social reformer who rebels against some of the social conventions in order to find a higher and better kind of social behavior."[11] Untortunately little more is said and no data reported for this latter character type.

Yet it is precisely this kind of adolescent school rebellion that we are interested in understanding and that our society stands in need of creating; a form of protest that is different, in degree if not in kind, from such personal defiance, from the rebellion discussed by Stinchcombe,[12] and from Clark's[13] summary of delinquent subcultures in school. Clark's concern with schools "plagued with disaffected rebellious youths" seems to locate the major sources of disaffection in youth themselves, and between the youth and the larger society, with little regard for the role the school itself may play in generating such challenges to the authority of educators[14]. It is an old saw that those who define the nature of the phenomena can set the terms for its treatment. Rebellion that is defined consistently as evidence of personal pathology

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[10] Havighurst, R., and Taba, H. Adolescent Character and Personality. New York, Wiley, 1963.

[11] Havighurst and Taba, Op. Cit., p. 164.

[12] Stinchcombe, A. Rebellion in a High School, Chicago, Quadrangle, 1964.

[13] Clark, B. Educating the Expert Society, San Francisco, Chandler, 1962.

[14] Clark, Op. Cit., p. 244.

redounds to the detriment of the rebel. Further, it protects the system which may be the target of rebellion from investigations of its own complicity. As Paige points out, "if large numbers of people view the social system as the cause of their...failure, the legitimacy of that system will be brought into question."[15]

Stinchcombe defines rebellious behavior in school by three components: truancy, difficulty in non-college courses, and being sent out of class. These components truly are tame, they are largely concerned with established academic and classroom procedures, and they are negatively stated. However, Stinchcombe also defines his deeper interest in rebellion as a form of expressive alienation, especially its "responsive non-ideological, unorganized and impulsive character".[16] While the protests and rebellions occurring currently may be occasionally impulsive and responsive, They are as often not highly organized and ideologically based. They appear to us to be social movements or collective phenomena not reducible by examinations of individuals' delinquent records or pathologies. Moreover, their school components are often more than classroom-related, and they focus as well upon aspects of the organizational structure and dynamics of the school.

Stinchcombe also points out, as does Clark, that expressive alienation is most likely to occur when students' future status is not clearly related to present school performance,[17] and when adolescents lay claim for personal autonomy and status more typically conferred on adults. In particular, Stinchcombe comments:

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[15]Paige, J. Collective violence and the culture of subordination: a study of the participants in the July 1967 riots in Newark, New Jersey and Detroit, Michigan. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968, p. 59.

[16]Stinchcombe, Op. Cit., p. 2.

[17]Which appears to be the negative statement of Rhea's finding that faith in the positive utility of high school procedures facilitates involvement and adjustment.

> "Students' objection to the doctrine of adolescent inferiority creates problems of authority in the high school. This challenge to the doctrine is partly motivated merely by rebellion against the career meaninglessness of the school, as we showed above. But it is also clear that lack of belief in the inferiority and lesser rights of youth has an independent effect on rebellion."[18]

Even in the few years since Stinchcombe's work was published, in 1964, both these strains have become more potent. The irrelevance of a high school education, let alone the obsolescence of certain courses, for job success for poor white and black youngsters has become manifestly clear. Kvaraceus only adds agreement to a consensus complaint when he points out that, for the Negro child, "There is very little apparent connection between what goes on in school and the present or future life of the learner."[19] And the growing sense of potency and consequent impatience with the trappings of inferiority on the part of young people, and of young black people especially, has mushroomed.

Interracial Relations Among Students

The report prepared by Coleman and his colleagues indicates that the differences between largely Negro and largely white schools are such that one can add the category of "disadvantaged schools" to the lexicon of our urban ills.[20] Schools with largely Negro populations seem inferior in many respects to schools with largely white populations. The age and structure of buildings, availability of libraries and other facilities, curriculum alternatives and size of classroom all mark the

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[18] Stinchcombe, Op. Cit., p. 182.

[19] Kvaraceus, W. Negro youth and school adaptation. In W. Kvaraceus, et.al., Negro Self Concept, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1965.

[20] Coleman, J.et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C. United States Government Printing Office, 1966.

negative comparisons between such schools. But the Coleman report also points out that not all of these facilities appear to be especially relevant for academic performance; they do not seem to explain performance differences by themselves. What appears to be much more important is the character of the school peer group, especial the social status of one's classroom colleagues. It is therefore quite relevant that the United States Commission on Civil Rights uses reasons other than comparative facilities in suggesting that a national priority should be placed upon ending racial separation in schools. Their argument is essentially that youngsters' academi performance and social maturity suffer from the often narrow and constraining social and academic interactions fostered by schools and classes with very homogeneous populations. This priority cuts across the delineation of social class and geography it implies that the emphasis on separate educational designs or tracks for any group may be quite inappropriate, and that interracial associations in desegregated schools should be created and planned for intensively.[21]

The United States Office of Education study stresses the effects of social inter action and new reference associations as follows:

> "The higher achievement of all racial and ethnic groups in schools with greater proportions of white students is largely, perhaps wholly, related to effects associated with the student body's educational background and aspirations. This means that the apparent beneficial effect of a student body with a high proportion of white students comes not from racial composition per se, but from the better educational background and higher educational aspirations that are, on the average, found among white students."[22]

Other research in this area, some of it conducted in elementary schools and some in secondary schools, suggests that merely placing Negro students in classroom

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[21] Racial Isolation in The Public Schools, Washington, D.C., United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

[22] Coleman, et. al., op. cit., p. 307.

contact with whites may not be the best way to improve performance. Many intra-classroom variables may have to be considered in understanding or manipulating the learning environment in interracial situations. Katzenmeyer, for example, suggests that a Negro student's class performance depends upon "a communality of experience with white pupils, the adequacy of his performance having increased as the degree of social interaction increased."[23] Lockwood points out that there is a period of a year or more in which there may be no increase or even may be a decrease in achievement before performance levels rise.[24] The initial drop may be explained partly by the emotional impact of an interracial situation on newly entering Negroes; it is probable that the initial requirement to deal with white peers and authority figures is quite threatening. Katz's studies also demonstrate the likelihood that the heightened level of threat inherent in the newly interracial situation will affect the intellectual performance of students.[25]

There are a number of studies that document empirically the particularly important effects of classroom peer group relations on a student's self-esteem, attitudes toward school and the utilization of his academic potential. Pupils who perceive that their peers do or may reject them, and that their attitudes are discrepant from peers' attitudes, seem to utilize their potentials less effectively in class.[26] The fear of such peer rejection may constrain some students from ex-

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[23]Katzenmeyer, W., Social interaction and differences in interaction and differences in intelligence test performance of Negro and white elementary school pupils. Dissertation abstracts, 1963, 24, 1905.

[24]Lockwood, J. An examination of school factors among Negro students in balanced and imbalanced schools. Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1966.

[25]Katz, I., Review of evidence relating to effects of desegregation on the intellectual performance of Negroes, American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 381-399.

[26]A variety of these studies are summarized in: Schmuck, R., Luszki, M., and Epperson, D. Interpersonal relations and mental health in the classroom. Mental Hygiene, 1963, 47, 289-297; Schmuck, R., Socio-emotional characteristics of classroom peer groups. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963.

pressing themselves in class or from confronting or competing effectively with classmates. Where social interaction is so fraught with danger or constraint that students cannot support one another's learning efforts, everyone in class may be deprived of some key educational resources. The potentially more difficult and varied curriculum and different school and peer group norms are part of the situation, as is the strangeness of a new environment, perhaps in a new part of town. But fears of rejection, isolation, hostility or competition from other students and teachers, particularly from those of another race, must also enter the picture. In the face of such expectations, many Negro students will avoid or deliberately fail competition. Similarly, fears and anxieties about Negroes' reactions and about their own unresolved feelings may cripple white youngsters' potential.

Some of these problems of interracial attitudes and trust were explored with several hundred Negro high school students who desegregated previously all white schools in the deep south.[27] Almost half the group reported that they encountered considerable resentment and hostility from their new white peers when they entered the white schools. These reactions ranged from general unfriendliness and teasing to name calling and physical violence. Another third of the desegregators experienced both positive and negative reactions, and relatively neutral behavior such as indifference and avoidance. Only 15% of the desegregators felt they were met by peer reactions of welcome, friendship or courteous concern. With these intitial reactions as a baseline it is easy to understand how prolonged social interaction in such an environment would fail to improve the quality of relationships between white and Negro students. After a year of attendance at a desegregated school thirty percent of the Negro desegregators stated that their ideas about white

[27] Chesler, M. and Segal, P.: Southern Negroes' Initial Experiences and Reactions in School Desegregation. Integrated Education, 1968, 6, 20-28.

people had changed as a result of the past year's experience; as many youngsters changed in a more trusting direction as in a less trusting direction. Moreover, over 60% of the students, most of whom entered with a distrustful attitude, did not feel they changed in either direction.

Lombardi also reports the results of a study in Northern classrooms in which contact with Negroes did not change white high school students' attitudes toward Negroes.[28] Webster presents a more dismal picture, reporting from his research that "unguided" contact - contact which was handled without preparation or special attention - resulted in some white students being less friendly and accepting toward Negroes than before desegregation.[29]

The lack of success often associated with interracial school experiences dramatizes a number of issues especially relevant for Negro students These youngsters, in particular, may be experiencing an especially difficult search for stable personal and interpersonal identities and consistent styles and behavior patterns. Problems involved in establishing the meaning of blackness in a white society, and the role of aware blacks in interaction with white peers, are highlighted in such settings. In a number of schools black students self-consciously separate themselves from their white compatriots and authorities. Such separation may be accompanied by hostility and rejection of whites. As Paige reports the change in this view over time he notes that: "In 1968 anti-white feelings are supported by a numerical majority (of urban Negroes), not simply high authoritarians, and it is the younger, Northern-born Negroes who are proud of their color who

[28] Lombardi, D., Factors affecting change in attitude toward Negroes among high school students. Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1963.

[29] Webster, S., The influence of interracial contact on social acceptance in a newly integrated school. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1961, 52

are most anti-white."[30] Such black solidarity and separateness in school organizations is very troubling to white students, particularly young white liberals, who are trying to reach out to associate and/collaborate with young blacks. Other groups of white youngsters, not particularly liberal, may see political and organizational threats in such activities and thus may organize their own ethnic or interest groups of a separate character. The stage is then set for social or political competition among racially homogenous clubs and associations.

Educators' Values and Styles

The general proposition that control of students plays a central part in the organizational life of public schools, and particularly in teachers' treatment of youngsters, has received support by a number of authors. The very character of educational organizations, as service units which do not select their clients, yet whose clients cannot refuse to participate, establishes a strong control orientation.[31] In one of the early empirical studies of this factor, Becker concluded that Chicago public school teachers were primarily involved in maintaining their authority over students in the classroom and in resisting inroads on their authority in the school from administrator and parents.[32]

Willower, in field observations of a large junior high school in a middle-sized city, discovered that concern with pupil control had a striking influence on the life of the school [33] Pupil control problems apparently conditioned

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[30] Paige, op.cit., p. 105

[31] Carlson, R. "Environmental Constraints and Organizational Consequences: The public school and its clients", in D. Griffiths (Ed.) Behavioral Science and Educational Administration, Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1962.

[32] Becker, H. "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School", Journal of Educational Psychology, 1953, 27, 128-141.

[33] Willower, D. "Schools as Organizations: Some Illustrated Strategies for Educational Research and Practice". Paper presented in the West Virginia U. Social Science Colloquim Series, Morgantown, West Virginia, 1967.

teacher-teacher, teacher-counselor, and teacher-administrator relations. Teachers who were viewed as weak on control and discipline of their students had "marginal" status among colleagues. Newer teachers reported that one of their main problems with older teachers was convincing them that although they were less experienced they were not "soft". In more public situations and assemblies teachers made special attempts to ensure that their own students were orderly, often talking to their students with more than usual toughness. Faculty lounge conversation was dominated by boasts about the rigorous handling of discipline problems and by gossip about rebellious students. Of course there are some aspects of this emphasis that creates uncomfortable feelings for teachers as well. Zeigler notes that "the maintenance of the superior-subordinate relationship leads to personal rigidity, and the teacher's dominant need, based upon fear of loss of authority, is for security."[34] Such feelings of threat or insecurity reinforce the teacher's need for control over students, students who now have become threats to one's personal comfort and security.

In all of a teacher's relationships with students, his values, attitudes perceptions and assumptions about students influence his behavior. Coleman, in discussing the very low percentages of youngsters who report participation in such "delinquent" activities as "stirring up trouble" "drinking or smoking together", remarks on the stereotype and suspicion by which adults judge youngsters.[35] Many informal reports, based on observation of schools and teachers, document ways in which these educational agents communicate to students that youngsters are evil, or that certain students are bound to fail. School administrators themselves communicate a negative trust and judgment of adolescents when they eliminate privacy

[34] Zeigler, H. The Political Life of American Teachers, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1967.

[35] Coleman, J. op.cit.

from school lavoratories and lock recreation rooms except for certain hours.

The crucial importance of teachers' assumptions regarding their students is especially relevant in interracial situations. Indeed, recent research suggests that some teachers may fail to be effective in interracial situations precisely because of their attitudes. Niemeyer, for instance, argues that "the chief cause of the low achievement of the children of alienated groups is the fact that too many teachers and principals honestly believe that these children are educable only to an extremely limited extent."[36] The Haryou report, too, concludes that teachers in Harlem schools have a "low opinion of the children's learning ability."[37]

Clearly, these expectations of youngsters' abilities partially determine teachers' behaviors and the way they treat their students. Youngsters interpret teachers' low estimates of their ability from various cues and often are motivated not to exceed these expectations in their performance. When a teacher responds to a youngster in a way that implies or suggests the student has little ability, the student is likely to accept that evaluation and thus decrease motivation for achievement. Low achievement then reinforces the teacher's initial presumption, encouraging similar behavior on his part. Thus student and teacher both may collude in establishing a self-fulfilling cycle of low expectation, failure and rejection.

In addition to these reports of teacher devaluation of Negro youngster's achievement potentials, some researchers note teachers behaving differently toward white and Negro children in class.[38] In their own social behavior, in their

[36] Niemeyer, J. Some Guidelines to Desirable Elementary School Reorganization. In Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1962, p. 81.

[37] Youth in the Ghetto, New York, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, 1964, p.203.

[38] Bloom, B., Davis, A. and Hess, R. Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, New York, N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

limits on peer activity, and in their use of authority teachers may consciously or unconsciously single out Negro youngsters in more negative or disapproving ways. Such differential behavior usually does not remain hidden from youngsters in the classroom. The result often not only is damage to a child's ego, or reconfirmation of an already negative self-view, but indirect license to the peer group to do likewise. Thus informal peer norms of distance and rejection may arise partially because of the teacher's own discomfort or ineffectiveness in the interracial classroom.

Those few teachers who are openly resistant to interracial education may deliberately contribute to a negative experience in interpersonal and intergroup relations in the classroom. Those teachers who are inhibited or paralyzed by their own fears and ambivalences also may contribute to a negative student experience by ignoring or suppressing vital issues in the classroom or managing them ineffectively. In a recent study of some Southern teachers' responses to school desegregation, Chesler and Segal report that most white teachers indicated they were quite nervous on the first day of desegregated classes.[39] For some, this anxiety was a function of their own inexperience with Negroes; it was also connected to teachers' concerns that no major incidents should erupt in their classrooms. For others, it was ambivalence and confusion as to whether they should pay any special attention to the new students, or to the new facts of racial mixture. When teachers suffer from such resistance, confusion, or hesitancy youngsters must perceive these cues from their classroom behavior. When they do, the students themselves are likely to become more tense and cautious as well.

Sometimes the errors of judgment bred by such anxiety or confusion about racial matters and such commitments to the control of students' behavior has

[39] Chesler, M. and Segal, P. Characteristics of Negro Students Attending Previously All-white Schools in the Deep South. Final report, United States Office of Education Small Contract #6-8412. Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1967.

disastrous social consequences. Recent reports indicate that many school-related disorders at the time of Martin Luther King's assassination

> "are traceable to a certain insensitivity on the part of school officials....(for instance) the failure of a school to close in honor of Dr. King....the refusal of school authorities to allow a group of students to leave a high school and conduct a memoral march for Dr King....because a flag at a local high school had not been lowered."[40]

Other school administrators helped observe this tragic event by closing schools or adopting other forms of official mourning.

Further insight into teachers' professional orientations toward Negro or lower class students comes from the works of Kvaraceus and his colleagues and Herriot and St. John.[41] As Kvaraceus points out,

> "many teachers today seem to be fearful, anxious, and angry. This is especially manifest in the teacher's relationship with the reluctant or recalcitrant learners in the big cities. The frequent cry heard for sterner and harder measures in dealing with these pupils and for their removal from the regular classroom or exclusion from school would indicate that too many educators are now more concerned with the academic reputation of their school than with the welfare and well-being of the nonachieving and nonconforming students."[42]

Herriot and St. John validate Becker's finding that teachers in lower class schools more often seek to transfer to other teaching opportunities.[43] This issue is perhaps best summarized by Clark's comments:

> "....the adjustment of most teachers faced by the unattractive and difficult lower-class, minority student is to manipulate the transfer system, if they can, in such a way as to escape to a better school."[44]

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[40] Riot Data Review, op.cit. p. 74-75

[41] Kvaraceus, et al. Negro self concept, N.Y. McGraw Hill, 1965.
Herriot, R. & St. John, N. Social Class and the Urban School, New York, Wiley,1965
Similar evaluations using different criteria are presented in Coleman, et. al., op.cit.

[42] Kvaraceus, W. Negro youth and social adaptation. In W. Kvaraceus, et.al., op.cit.

[43] Becker, H. The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher, American Journal of Sociology, 1952, 57, 470-477.

[44] Clark, op.cit. p. 99

Perhaps students are better off without them. The continuing tragedy of our urban education systems is that seldom are any better replacements available.

Professional Roles and Organizations

The organization of adults in the secondary educational process bears many resemblances to the typical professional bureaucracy. Youngsters, the human inputs into these people processing systems, are subject to a variety of personal and institutional controls by trained professionals. They are expected to leave the system as a new product, possessed of marketable skills and committed to broadly embraceable social norms. The teacher's role as a professional trained to manage the educational lives of his charges seems to provide him with clearly defined relationships to students, peers, authorities and the educational organization. At the same time, wide discretionary power probably is necessary for staff members to respond to the unique qualities and goals of each of their charges.

Students are supposed to want to go to school and to want to absorb both the cognitive and normative input desired by the larger society. Resting on this assumption, an organization involved in the processing of people can be expected to operate according to relatively democratic, individualistic and humane standards.[45] Yet students are often in school only because they are forced to be, and because there is nothing better for them to do. For this reason, it is often assumed that their organizational lives must be tightly structured and arranged so they will not waste time with frivolous and non-educational pursuits. On the one hand it is clear that different youngsters learn in very different ways; thus rewards and punishments used by adults in the school must be somewhat flexible in order to be successful in encouraging different students' motivation to

[45]Katz & Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organization, New York, Wiley, 1966.

learn. At the same time faculties must respond realistically to the potential chaos of large numbers of students in a course that may or may not be of intrinsic interest to them.[46] Identification as a professional specialist encourages teachers to rationalize and universalize their instructional methods and to centralize and coordinate classroom operations. The conflict between these divergent philosophies and norms are reflected in continuing confusion regarding the appropriate managerial responses for the classroom teacher or the school principal.

In order to maintain one's status and freedom of action as a professional, the teacher must be released from some primitive role demands typically placed on human interactions among peers. The teacher-student relationship is seen by educators as a professional-client relationship. As such it is marked by the professional's concern for the student's welfare and interests, the professional's evaluation and judgment of the student's performances and future opportunities, and the professional's control of student-teacher interaction.[47] The formalization of individual and intuitive teaching tactics and experiences into a code of an organized discipline and standardized behavior supports the professional's efforts in determining and stabilizing his instructional conduct.

Emphases upon intimate and individually responsive interactions with students inevitably weaken the universalist standards incumbent upon the professional role-taker. Therefore, the insulation of the teacher from students is, to some extent, a necessary component of his ability to be objective, fair and disinterestedly interested in their welfare. The teachers' ability to exercise authority and control

[46] Kvaraceus, op.cit discusses this issue as the teacher's conflict between her school-organization role and teacher-helper role. It would be too optimistic to think that similar conflict does not exist as well within the varied aspects of the teacher-controller and teacher-helper role.

[47] This definition of professional role behavior is derived from comments on police work by: Bordua, D. and Reiss, A. Sociology in Law Enforcement. In Uses of Sociology, New York, Basic Books.

over his clients also is vital to the management of his own conflicts over personal and impersonal relations in class, and it permits him to be free to act in what he sees as the client's welfare.

Attempts on the part of lay adults or others to control teachers' classroom behavior inevitably weaken professional autonomy and freedom. Such views of the sanctity of the professionals' role are reflected further by the substantial numbers of teachers who are opposed to giving lay persons in the community more influence in running the schools. Aside from the threat to their own freedom and status, teachers suggest such procedures would not serve better the needs of pupils. Rossi and his colleagues report that 58% of the white educators and 45% of the negro educators they interviewed recently so assessed the minimal educative value of local community control of schools.[48]

Teachers' accountability for their behavior is only occasionally to their clients and communities. For the most part teachers are accountable to colleagues within their profession, or occasionally to supervisors, also however, within the profession. To be openly accountable to the general public would mean teachers would have to defend themselves on other than professional grounds to other than professionals. In some sense, public accountability is provided by the existence of a school board and trustees, the ultimate managerial entity. But daily implementation of philosophies and policy decisions are delegated by this board to professional agents.

As the chief local professional agent the principal is required to play a key role in preserving the professional integrity and security of the organization. Becker notes that, "the principal, then, is expected to provide a defense against

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[48]Rossi, P., Berk, R., Boesel, D., Erdson, B., Groves, W. Between white and black: the faces of American institutions in the ghetto. In Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1968, p. 137. The teachers and principals so interviewed were from 15 cities involved in riots during the summer of 1967.

parental interference and student revolt, by protecting the teacher whenever her authority is challenged."[49] In this respect it is relevant that many teachers prefer their principals to have more effective power over school policy than they seem to have; with more power, staffs feel that a principal can be a better buffer and better serve the interests of school personnel [50]

The internal management of schools most nearly represent a bureaucratic form that seeks to provide substantial freedom and autonomy to its professional agents. As Chesler and Barakat point out, however, this autonomy often becomes isolation, and the isolated teacher seldom finds the peer support necessary to encourage imaginative and creative teaching. These authors also demonstrate that the majority of teachers desire more influence than they feel they now have on the making of local educational policies.[51] Despite aspirations in this direction, however, the principal maintains final authority and as Clark points out, the "notion of a self-governing academic community...is only weakly voiced in the public schools."[52]

Although most teachers generally feel they have insufficient influence upon school policy, some staff leaders are consulted and often represented when important decisions are made. This is not at all the case with students. Students never have direct representation in policy-making, and are rarely consulted in advance regarding their advice or influence The institutions of student councils, courts and newspapers, guarded as they are by faculty advisors and censors, simply do not fulfill an effective political function. More often than not, such bodies

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[49] Becker, H. Journal of Educational Psychology, op. cit.

[50] Chesler, M. and Barakat, H The innovation and sharing of teacher practices I: a study of professional roles and social structures in schools. Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1967.

[51] Discussed in Chesler and Barakat, op. cit.

[52] Clark, op cit., p 159.

clearly represent a mockery of democratic political processes, and students know it.[53] The prospect of innovation in this regard is not particularly hopeful; when the professional's orientation toward seeing students as immature charges is coupled with students' traditionally low status in the school, teachers are not likely to value students potential contributions to the quality or processes of educational decision making. Moreover, students who have been trained to conform to and/accept the judgments and behaviors of professionally trained personnel cannot be expected to be very secure or skillful in generating reasonable alternatives to present policy.

Although one form of "student power" implies student involvement in the above noted institutional decision-making, it may take other forms as well. Student influence also may be exercised in the classroom situation, where choice of course content, instructional method, evaluative media, etc. may be open to mutual student-teacher decision-making. A recent study of a modular curriculum organization indicates that students having a choice about how they structure their time and free time during the day "feel they have more influence in the school and greater opportunities for independence."[54] These various forms of student influence or power may all tend to reduce students' alienation from the organizational life of the school.

Intergroup Conflict Processes

Given these organizational features of schools and instructional processes it is not surprising that cross-racial and cross-generational conflict is escalated with ease and resolved with difficulty. For instance, Coser has enunciated the

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[53] Kvaraceus, op. cit., in fact calls student participation in these systems "listless play-acting".

[54] Polk, B. Sense of internal control in a non-alienative environment: a study of a flexible-modular high school. Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968, p. 92.

principle that divisive social conflict is less likely to erupt when a system is threaded with persons holding plural memberships in groups with competing interests.[55] The rigorous divisions of status and privilege which demark student and teacher categories reduce the possibility of cross group memberships or associations of lasting character. The school situation not only prohibits such membership across student and adult sub-systems, it also so inhibits cross group loyalties and interpersonal commitments that the two status-linked groups of teachers and students can be often and easily lined up against one another.

The same principle may be present in certain aspects of school interracial relations, especially in schools where community racial pressures have polarized student relations. Thus one may visualize the logical extension of few cross group loyalties or associations among individuals of different racial groups. However, it is also possible and often occurs that cross-racial associations of lasting character do develop among middle and lower class youngsters of both races. Furthermore, even when sub-groups are separated group collaboration may occur. In some instances the delineation and resistance of adults as the "common enemy" may provide white and black students with a "superordinate goal" around which they can organize for confrontation.[56]

The lack of role reciprocity between students and teachers, and the stress upon professionals' control of clients, makes it clear to those without authority that they are without it. Thus the lines of distinction between the "rulers" and the "ruled" are overt, visible, and liable to attack A greater potential for conflict exists where such role characteristics constantly remind students of their

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[55]Coser, L. Functions of Social Conflict, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1956.

[56]Sherif, M. In Common Predicament, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1966.

lower status and influence. Under those conditions where status and influence lines are blurred it is more difficult to articulate and organize protest. An example of this line of thought is presented by Kvaraceus, who points out that a heavy stress upon external and adult controls, "tends to deepen the misunderstanding and resentment that exist between youth and adult."[57] With particular reference to life in the organization of the school Kvaraceus further alludes to Merton's paradigm of response to bureaucratic controls. He notes, therefore, that when such strong controls are successful they create "a reluctant and recalcitrant conformist living close to the letter of the law." On the other hand, if unsuccessful, they create "the overt aggressive delinquent who is a member of an 'outlaw gang'."[58] Neither of these alternatives is an attractive educational outcome, although only the latter presents a challenge to good order and unconflictful relations in school

When large numbers of students resent and distrust the control mechanisms of the school the effect is to undermine the collective and legitimate authority of the school administration When students no longer believe school personnel will act in their immediate behalf, or even in their long run best interests, they are more likely to rely on coercive influence attempts [59] For students, who have few legitimate channels for the exercise of influence or control over school life, coercion usually means the use of disruptive power.

The schools' emphasis upon control of student behavior, and the unilateral exercise of the power of teachers and administrators in this regard, makes students

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[57] Kvaraceus, op. cit., p 109

[58] Kvaraceus, op. cit., p. 109.

[59] This general proposition is explicated in Gamson, W Power and Discontent, New York, Dorsey Press, 1968.

vulnerable to the arbitrary, or apparently arbitrary, use of authority. Although a concern for due process to insure organizational members redress against arbitrary authority is common in most medium and large size industrial firms and public agencies, it is seldom found in professional systems, and certainly not in schools.[60] Scott points out that a self-conscious bypassing of the chain of command is seen as both necessary and fruitful in most organizations; these "appeal systems" establish an internal procedure for conflict resolution. One can, in fact, create a continuum of congruence between democratic procedures and organizational appeals systems on the basis of the members' public knowledge of the process, the breadth of their right to use it, and the degree of separation between these judicial and other executive-managerial functions. But no matter what sort of procedure we can construct in our mind's eye, current reality is that students are seldom granted the right to appeal teachers' authority. If students' initiate such a procedure they may find an open ear, but the failure to announce any such appeal right insures relatively untrammeled controls by teachers and few ways to prevent grievances from becoming crises.

The distance that separates schools from communities provides another arena for unadjudicated conflict escalation and polarization. In most cases parental grievances are either overlooked or privately aired with school officials and thereby adjudicated. However, when grievances are especially severe, when they affect a wide range of students or parents deeply, and when the parents involved are inexperienced or unsophisticated in expressing their concerns, they may not follow this normal "cooling out" process and we are likely to encounter the "corporate, or public stage of the political process."[61] This is the open crisis or escalated conflict that may disrupt normal school and school-community operations.

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[60] Scott, W. The Management of Conflict: Appeal Systems in Organizations. Homewood, Dorsey Press, 1965.

[61] Jennings, K. Parental grievances and school politics. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1968 (In press).

The pressure for mobilization of parent and community interests in the demand for community control of school conflicts with the school's tradition of organizational and professional autonomy. To the extent that community demands are augmented by a distrust of the benevolent concern or special competence of teachers it will be difficult for school administrators to respond to such demands without major organizational modification. If professionals' traditional autonomy is augmented by fears of vulnerability to client influence and an insecurity about their own competence they will resist such change efforts. The incompatibilities between these two trends set the stage for prolonged and exacerbated tension in relationships.

In these several ways two principles about school conflict seem clear: (1) certain aspects of the structure and operation of schools make student-student, student-adult, and professional-community conflict inevitable; (2) certain aspects of educators' roles and assumptions prevent the use of mediating processes that could intervene between the existence of grievances and conflict and the development of protest and rebellion.

III. Some Issues in Student Protest and Rebellion: Through the Eyes of Participants

With this background of social scientific findings regarding aspects of the contemporary school situation, we may be able to interpret better the demands and counterdemands being posed by students and adults, blacks and whites, professionals and lay people, in our troubled social systems. We would like to illustrate these demands, and some of the underlying issues, with excerpts from discussions amongst high school students, teachers, and administrators. Some of the following exerpted confrontations are from youngsters' meetings with teachers and administrators and others are from offhand discussions among teachers and/or students.[62]

[62] These excerpts have been collected and reproduced on a 20 minute demonstration tape recording; this tape is now being used in training sessions with adults and students of professional and lay organizations.

The first comment represents a youngster's feelings that if teachers and administrators have thought ahead things could have happened differently. She is speaking directly to a school administrator in a public meeting.

Excerpt #1:

> (student) If you had really been concerned...now you're supposed to be an adult man who can accept all kinds of criticism, and we're nothing but teenagers, and so you should be able to accept our criticism on an adult level. Okay, number one, when they had riots in Watts and Chicago this previous summer, before we started school in September, you knew that we were an integrated school with Negroes; you also knew that we would probably feel the way those teenagers felt then. Or you should have known. I felt that you should take each school in your district as a personal..., like a child, and analyze their problems that would probably arise in September. If you had analyzed the problems and looked at those riots and saw the causes, then maybe in September you would have been better adjusted and it wouldn't have took you by surprise, and you would have been able to handle the situation better than you could have the way you handled it then.

This student indirectly identifies some of the extra-school reasons disruptive phenomena may be occuring at this particular time. National and regional racial and political tensions, evidence of protests and disruptions in communites, colleges and other high schools, and ready access to the media may all contribute to the contemporary mass diffusion of this expressive form.

We asked Negro and white youngsters to talk together about the kinds of issues and problems in their school and in their relations with each other that seemed to be reflected in boycotts, strikes, and interracial violence or fighting. These issues and prevailing conditions reflect the continuing crises in youngsters lives referred to earlier in this paper. They are the raw material out of which administrative crises and school disruptions are generated.

Excerpt #2:

> (interviewer) You know, I think all the rest is heresay. I would like to get you folks' opinion on where you see the problems and the issues And I think this is where we can be productive.

(student) Well, we have to take it with sides first. It broke out with Negro and white, right? I don't know how the white kids do it cause I'm not one of them. But I know that the Negroes feel that they're being deprived. And that's enough to get you mad enough to fight.

(interviewer) Deprived of what?

(student) Well, they're being low-rated. You know, discriminated upon.

(interviewer) In terms of not getting certain things, quality, what? You're not getting the right courses?

(student) No, the courses are the same.

(interviewer) Okay, so where is the discrimination?

(student) The teachers.

(student) You can walk into a room and feel when you're not wanted.

(student) The discipline problems are wrong. They'll punish the Negroes greatly and let the white man get away with everything. And that's not right. You can disagree with it but you'll get your turn later on. Now, a Negro will come into class, and he comes late, he gets an after-school appointment, which is right because he has no business coming late. And when the white boy comes into class and don't get one, then that's not right.....

Excerpt #3:

(interviewer) How do teachers look at students. What do they think about them?

(student) Well, the way that we felt, and I got the same impression from other kids, that the teachers and the administration here look down on us. We are supposed to give them respect because they are a teacher. But they don't give us respect as students. Now, like I'm a greaser, I dress with a leather coat, pointed shoes and knit shirts; and his skin, he's black. So they have prejudice against us. The greaser has a reputation as being a dummy, hanging on the corner with a cigarette hanging out of his mouth, and in nine out of ten cases, this isn't true at all.

(student) A Negro is just not accepted here.

(interviewer) We're talking about the faculty?

(student) Yeah, they look down on us.

> (student) And the climbers wear tight levis, sweat socks, loafers. They are, you know, all the brains. This is what the faculty takes as brains, you know. And these people they treat the teacher as though the teacher is a king or something. "You surely look nice today, teacher" and all this. Greasers and Negroes just don't do it, and since we won't do what they want, what most people term is "grippin em" or something like this; they won't do it, so the teachers don't like it.

These comments reflect the feeling that there is a lack of open and honest interaction and fair treatment between the human beings who staff and consume the educational process. Student groups often request more opportunity for personal contact among the variety of persons in the educative enterprise; as well they stress new concerns for the quality of such human relationships. One aspect of this concern for quality is a systematic stress, as can be seen above, upon the notion of reciprocality in human relations. Many teachers in urban areas say that the most disturbing factor of their work is the constant occurrence of student disrespect or defiance. Similarly, many students report that what disturbs them most is their teachers' lack of courtesy and respect for them as individuals. Coleman reported just such a reverberating phenomenon in his study of high school cultures. One school in particular had both the highest proportion of teachers with jaundiced views about students and the highest percentage of students who reported that teachers were "not interested in teen-agers".[6] What is at stake here is a concern for mutuality of respect and greater reciprocity and parity in interpersonal relations.

In addition to general human relations' values, a strong theme of social justice runs through many of the high school protests. For instance, particularly in those schools heavily populated by black students, or by interracial groups of students, there has been concern expressed regarding the generally low

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[6] Coleman, op. cit.

number of black faculty members and black counselors on the professional staff. In a similar vein, requests have been made for new ventures into courses in Negro history, Afro-American studies, etc. Black youngsters often have expressed their concern about being placed in those separate tracks and curricula that maintain social distance among the races and that shunt blacks into non-college preparatory courses. These conditions further inhibit Negro students' possibilities of going to college or to a first rate college. Such organizational relationships which systematically discriminate against the possibility of mobility for black youngsters have come under fire in a number of schools.

In addition to these organizational situations, a number of disruptive protests have been organized against the personally discriminatory behavior visited upon white or black youngsters by certain teachers, counselors, and principals. These protests seem to highlight two central issues: (1) counselors and teachers give white students preferential treatment; and (2) school officials meddle in students' private affairs, principally they try to enforce certain culture-bound hair and dress regulations and they try to discourage interracial dating.[64]

The general character of the reports and scientific studies discussed earlier validate many of the student comments included herein. In addition, they suggest that what the protesting "blacks" and "greasers" haven't considered is that the "climbers" may be almost as alienated from the school system as they are themselves. Some of the "climbers" feel that they're just floating through a system that has little relevance or meaning; but they're pretty much able to sit through it, be patient, cool it, until they get to college. Sooner or later

[64] Friedenberg and his colleagues discuss ways in which dress and hair regulations may be seen as defensive reactions to the attraction of youth, and as arbitrary means of maintaining a control-oriented management system. Nordstrom, C., Friedenberg, E. and Gold, H. Society's Children, New York, Random House, 1967.

these groups may get together and discuss their common grievances.

The following excerpts illustrate some events that occurred in the midst of disruptive crises. Students' comments reflect some of their feelings about violations of basic principles of justice and fair play.

Excerpt #4:

(student) I'd like to say that one of the things our group 4 discussed was on mistrusting the faculty. Because when the kids went in there to talk, into the auditorium, they were in there to help solve the problem. And first Doc says to take your I.D. card and we'll excuse you from class by the name on the I.D. card. So everybody gave their I.D. cards and they signed the paper. Now, they're sending a letter to your parents. And your parents have to come back and your parents have to sign a paper. And this is mistrust cause you didn't say that when the kids were there.

(Administrator) Can I respond to that?

The superintendent is about to report the rationale for his actions; but what occurs is a double bind. The superintendent's position is clearly one of preserving order and security, and one can sympathize with his aims and position. However, it also is abundantly clear that in the pursuit of this concern he broke his word to the students. We have nothing but sympathy for both parties in ths example, they just move themselves into a double bind.

(Administrator) Now another part of the issue, I think, is that there was a great responsibility involved in what was happening there. And I had to exercise the responsibility which everyone of your parents expect me to exercise. Namely, to assure as best I can the health and safety of the children in the school.

(student) And lie to the children while we were in there. That's just what you did.

(administrator) No, see, I don't agree with that.....

Excerpt #5:

(student) We're in this school to learn. And my mother said, and I talked to her about this, that...when you go up there... and I haven't ever done anything, I don't have a record for anything at this school...you go up there and you say I

> promise not to do this, or you bring your parent in, or write a note, that you're admitting to something you've never done. I was in there because I was concerned. I'm not involved in it, I'm not a discipline person and all that. When you're in there you're concerned and then you go up and have to consent to something that you haven't ever done. What is that? What kind of a solution is that? Bring your parents up. All the kids in there were supposed to be problem childs. I'm not a problem child at home, in school or anywhere else. And I don't feel that it's right for me to bring my parents up there. And I went up there and I was trying to get it straight;_____ said to me that he would check my name off the list. That is not fair. And a lot of kids went up there and said "that's my name" he'd say, "well, what do you have to say, and they'd say, "okay, whatever you say". Now, what is that, that's no promise. Those hundred students that went up there, what is that? They did not raise their right hand and put the other one on the Bible, etc. whatever you do, and say, "I swear to God, I will not cause anymore trouble", and then they could have been lying also. That's no kind of solution. Those same hundred people can get back into the school Monday and those are the kids that can still start a riot. And with these kids going to the lockers, these kids are going to hear about that. That's going to make them angry. They could still start a riot. They're not solving anything. You have to get to the point; you can't evade the issue, you have to understand, you have to want to....
>
> (applause)

This girl is referring to the now not atypical procedure of requiring students who engage in disruptions to pledge their good behavior as a condition for school re-entry. Moreover, partially as a result of a bomb scare, teachers were inspecting youngsters' lockers for explosives and for other weapons.

These examples make it clear that youngsters, administrators and teachers are in some places caught into intolerable situations where they have mutually conflicting interests and responsibilities at stake. The human waste and tragedy is not just that they're caught in that bind; the greater tragedy is that their history together has so divided them that they can no longer rationally explain and adjust their positions to one another.

We are entering an age where school administrators must begin to recognize the fact that they do not have as much unilateral and arbitrary power as they once had. The legal and objective facts of school life may not have changed; but

the articulation of a group consciousness and thus a base of power among students has begun to emerge. In many schools large numbers of students feel that if they organize together they have enough power to so disrupt the ongoing activities of the school that they can bring it to a grinding halt. And at that point administrators can no longer run right over students, but must sit down and attempt some kind of negotiation or bargaining procedure.

Then everybody has a dilemma that needs professional help; because who knows how to negotiate or bargain? It's clear that students don't know how to bargain. They are just learning, minorities of them, to recognize their issues and to create and escalate the conflicts that may get issues and persons to the table for negotiation. Once into a negotiating situation, students often maintain discussion at such a level of rhetoric that it is impossible to bargain; or they are so glad to talk they are easily coopted into some minimal form of tokenism. Adults aren't any more skillful; certainly not when pushed from behind by community and professional groups that are opposed to "permissiveness" and "anarchism". Bargaining is sometimes seen by adults as a way to "cool-off" tensions and to avoid resolving issues; as soon as this sort of bargaining is over conflict and protest will break out even more vigorously. Many efforts at bargaining fail simply because of the participants' lack of values, skills or abilities to perform in such settings.

With the breakdown or absence of negotiation more extreme forms of protest can be expected to occur. In one of the questions we posed to youngsters we asked why violence was a response to the conditions that the various studies and reports talked about? Given concerns, grievances and even apparent injustice, why did such vigorous forms of protest develop?

Excerpt #6:

(student) The problem of this school is the colored kids were all up in rebellion against the administration, and the white kids were all up in rebellion against the administration. And they wanted to talk and they wanted some action from last September's disturbances. But they never got a thing; we never got anything; nothing was ever done. And so it just started up again. And I guess now that after they had a little trouble, we're finally getting...somebody's listening to us.

(interviewer) Do you agree with this?

(student) Yes, I agree. It's just the point that all the fighting wasn't because of any prejudice against each group. It was just because it was the only means we could take towards being able to talk to the administration. And like you said, now we're making progress.

Excerpt #7:

(student) Like if I went to fighting him, as a means to accomplishing something, it wouldn't be because of prejudice; not because I don't like him because he's white, not because I don't want to go to school with white people, or anything like that. But it's just that I can't go directly to Mr._____. If I went to speak to him; why I'd be turned around before I even got to his office. And the same with other groups, and the same with white boys, so my only means is to cause trouble. And I can only do that by fighting and then I can get to talk to him. Not I, personally, but as a group, Negroes.

The Negro youngster is saying, and the white youngster had just said, that all the fighting wasn't really because of racial prejudice among students; it was because it was the only way to get the attention of the administration. That raises a very interesting question. A great deal of evidence indicates that we should not believe these statements, that the reverse is more likely. For instance, that racial antagonisms in our society are so deep and wide that students can't possibly not be prejudiced. But be that as it may, once Negro and white youngsters believe what they've said here, we have the opportunity to teach new lessons of interracial collaboration. Even though we may believe that part of the interracial fighting was racially motivated and not just frustration with the administration's posture, the collaborative relationship that these warring

youngsters have now adopted presents a marvelous opportunity for teaching and learning some positive lessons about interracial living.

One of the most important issues raised in these schools was the nature of students' strategy and concern. Did students or teachers know why school was disrupted; was it deliberate or spontaneous, did students want to take over, to be heard, to make noise, or what? Here are some expressions of feelings on such issues.

Excerpt #8:

(male teacher) It's just not clear to me, I don't think students know what they want.

(female teacher) I think I know what they want. They want to run things.

(male teacher) Well, it just seems to me that we're saying more and more that the students don't know what they want, and they're just not clear what it is they are after.

Excerpt #9:

(student) They say we want to take over, but that's not true. We just want to have a little bit of voice in what goes on around here.

(student) Yeah, they don't want us to have any voice in anything around here.

Represented here is a fundamental difference in perception that has been repeated hundredfold. In many conflict situations students are asking for more influence or power in setting policy and making decisions that affect their academic and personal lives. By and large this has not met with a sympathetic or positive response by teachers and administrators. Administrators, who are used to wielding power without very much political accountability to students, have responded to school disruptions in three general ways, some of which are typified above. One pattern has been to deny that there are problems, to gloss over possible issues, and as far as possible to ignore the evidence of discontent

and rebellion. A second pattern has been to distort, consciously or unconsciously, the position and grievances of students. The students' rhetoric, laced with the language of control and vengeance, often lends itself to such a distorted escalation of fear and anarchy. The third administrative pattern has its ultimate expression in the use of repressive force. Repression can take many particular forms in schools, including suspension, expulsion or the institution of police forces. One of the high schools we are studying has been operating most of the year with over 20 uniformed policemen in the halls; another has equipped teachers with walkie-talkies to facilitate constant contact with the front office; still another has installed television cameras in hallways to identify and monitor student conduct.

Such responses raise many questions and problems for those of us far enough removed to sit and look at the situation. Sometimes students' requests are quite legitimate and should be considered carefully and openly. The responses of denial or repression, especially, confirm many youngsters' preconceptions of the school and the society as closed and inaccessible educational or political systems. Students thus may be encouraged to adopt more disruptive tactics in order to gain a dialogue. Strongly repressive tactics may indicate to students that the school has decided to escalate the level of conflict. One imminent danger of this tactic is to so raise the stakes that, for many trivial offenses, teachers pull students out of the classroom and send them to the office or the police room. Some teachers have lost all control over the classroom because they no longer tried to exercise local control once such administrative programs or police forces were available. Further, it must be remembered that youngsters are always learning from the behavior of their teachers and principals; frightened or extreme responses do not teach youngsters very enlightened ways of responding to conflict, controversy and dissent in their own lives. And finally, concrete political realities sometimes make these postures problemmatic because school

administrators may not be able to get away with them: they may not work! Students now may have a kind of ultimate power in the school, because they can close the schools down almost any time they organize to do so.

Excerpt #10:

(student) We had a problem that confronted everybody in our group. We sat down and we talked and we decided that the problem was that the students had no way of communicating with the administration on a level that they would be heard and really listened to. So they did the only thing they knew how to do; this was to riot, to get attention; or <u>revolt</u> is a better word, to get attention. They revolted so that the administration would pay some attention to them. And it isn't as the newspapers and the TV has said: "200 Negroes, 2000 Negroes, a certain number of Negroes did this." Negroes can't riot by themselves. It was both Negroes and Caucasians, the majority Negroes and greasers They rioted because they couldn't get any kind of representation. But now the students aren't thinking about rioting with themselves anymore. It's just like everybody's turned and looked at the administration. Because the administration seems to have lied, seems to have put things in such a way that they can't get out of the fix that they're in. So the students are now saying to all the rest of the administrators: "What are you going to do now?" We have tried in all the ways possible to communicate with you. We can't petition, we can't come down to your office and say "Do" or not say "Do this." We don't want to command, because we want a strong administration, which most of us think we don't have. We want to talk to you but we haven't thus far been listened to. The only time you listen to us is when we riot. So what <u>other</u> method do you want us to use?

(student) We don't want any more violence. I mean I've been hurt, and a lot of people have been hurt. And I don't think its necessary.

Excerpt #11:

(female teacher) I don't think we define democracy right--I think we should teach our children that even though we have democracy it doesn't mean that everybody has the final say so. Somewhere along the way there has to be somebody who has the final say so, and I think we can teach our students that, well, by starting out young and giving them a little bit of freedom, but well, then they don't get everything at once

(male teacher) But these people do have a feeling of democracy and how do we respond to it? Are we going to make them equals, peers, or do we keep them on the bottom, you know, out of sight?

A girl we talked to in another city was absolutely livid about the newspaper's reports of school disturbances as terrible riots. She said that at the University nearby they just had a "terrible kind of fuss", it was worse than what happened at the high school, and it was reported as the annual spring frolic. She said she wrote letters to the editor, went down and saw the newspaper editor, and nothing happened. That disastrous press reporting, she said, helped the white community to continue to see racially desegregated and largely Negro urban schools as not worthwhile investing in, or sending youngsters to, or putting money into, or treating with anything other than control and withdrawal.

Excerpt #12:

(interviewer) What's going to happen in this meeting?

(student) All hell's going to break loose. The kids are going to tell...well, let me say this first. Today, in our meetings, the white kids and the colored kids, we got together now. Well, actually it happened last Wednesday at the meeting, when again he stabbed us both in the back again like he did last September.

(interviewer) There was some communication between you two when that happened?

(student) Yes, sir.

(interviewer) Whereabouts, outside?

(student) Well, in the morning, we had been fighting. But by the end of that meeting we were standing together, we were fighting against _____. That's how quickly it happened, in just a couple of hours we were back together, unified in one student body. And that's the way it is now, only more so. And it's going to be white and black, green, purple, all different colored people and all different dressed people fighting against him and his administration.

As these youngsters reflect upon it, they're suggesting that the outbreaks were not just examples of spontaneous, random, letting off of steam, nor were they momentary responses to immediate frustrations. Rather, the disruptions were seen as the last ways possible to open up communication with school authorities and with the central administration. Individuals and groups who do not have legitimate power with which to represent their interests can be expected to turn to disruptive power as a last resort.

We asked youngsters and some faculty members in various schools to specify some of the responses or programs that would make sense after crises had occurred and had abated. Their responses help us understand some of the barriers or problems, as well as promises, in the implementation of new policies and ideas.

Excerpt #13:

> (student) In our group we had a solution. We decided that the colored and white should pick a leader and make a list of all the grievances in each group. And then we'll take this to the faculty and we'll give them a certain amount of time, you know, long enough so that they can decide on these. And it'll be, you know, we're not figuring we can get everything we want. But we're not going to have them say that we're kids and we don't know what we want. I guess if we <u>don't</u> get what we want, we thought that if we could get all of these kids together, that we'll boycott the school.

Excerpt #14:

(male teacher) Well, I'm tired after spending all day here at the school.

(male teacher) Me too.

(female teacher) You know, I've been thinking about the workshop Saturday, and a lot of the ideas were pretty good. I really would like to try something with my kids. But you know, I looked at my students today, and I thought, I can't try those with my students.

(male teacher) Yeah, me either. All that's fine to talk about but I don't know how we can get it done here in this school.

(female teacher) You know, once I tried letting them have a discussion group.

(male teacher) A discussion group, oh boy.

(female teacher) Oh, the kids got so excited, they made all this noise, and I got a note from the central office telling me to cut down the noise.

(male teacher) Typical.

(male teacher) That's the way it is, you start giving students any kind of freedom and you get the administration right down on your neck.

(male teacher) We just can't get the kind of support we need from that.....

Excerpt #15:

(male teacher) Well, one way would be to go at it in faculty meetings, but when do we have the chance to talk about anything like this at faculty meetings? Matter of fact, when do we get even a chance to talk at all.

(male teacher) That comes after 3:00.

(male teacher) Well, seems to me that everybody's talking about freedom, but what about faculty freedom?

(female teacher) That comes after 3:00 too.

(male teacher) Comes after 3:00, huh, okay.

Excerpt #16:

(male teacher) Or at a faculty meeting, simply as students.

(female teacher) I think they should be at every faculty meeting.

(female teacher) There are times when there are issues to be discussed when the kids don't have anything to say about. Now, well, it might be good for one or two students to sit in on a certain type of faculty meeting but there are, you know, times when we have things that are just teachers' business.

It is clear from these comments that another generating or facilitating force in school conflict lies in the character of teacher-teacher relationships. Negro and white teachers in most high schools complain about the lack of conversation, communication and sharing that exists among them. In fact, the entire profession seems to suffer from a lack of role-relevant discussions of what teachers are doing and how they are doing it.[65] But in schools where faculties are racially mixed, this situation seems more important.

There is informal evidence that on desegregated staffs people talk to one another along some rather segregated lines of conversation. Some white teachers in largely Negro schools feel they are doing "missionary" duty; many feel they are isolated from interaction with Negro colleagues. The reverse is often true

[65]Chesler and Barakat, op. cit.

as well; a typical staff procedure in a largely white faculty is to identify a Negro teacher as expert or liason for Negro students, and to limit his or her staff contribution to that extent. Since principals and administrators are not necessarily trained or competent to deal with such issues in interracial staffs, hidden conflicts and tensions often bubble over into overtly painful events. When a staff cannot collaborate among itself, it is unlikely to offer effective models for student behavior. Further, under such conditions staff members are likely to share their grievances with students, lending fuel and wisdom to youngsters' disaffections. Faculties that have no time and energy to prepare for, or reflect upon, their own growth and mutual support, can not possibly respond innovatively to student concerns.

Excerpt #17:

(student) That was my problem in the beginning, confronting Dr. _____ on his, what he has proposed for the future. I think that one thing should be mentioned. That from now on, when rules are set, they should be kept and they should be enforced. And they should be enforced equally. For instance, if we had all been suspended that day, there might have been a lot of trouble. But we all would have respected, and we all would have had to conform. And I think this business with simple little things like coming late to class; if a student is late to class, he's to be treated fairly. And if we definitely knew that there were certain rules that have to be followed, and there was no question at all: you follow these rules, or else, it would be a lot easier to conform to, because we would know exactly where we stood. There would be none of this are we here, or what's happening.

The above represents a student's desperate plea for some clear structure and for rules that are enforceable. Very often rules are made that are simply so stringent or vague so as to be unenforceable in practice. And that gets students and administrators into a great deal of confusion and trouble. Here are some final comments about some resources that must be developed and used in new ways.

Excerpt #18:

(interviewer) To get what? What do you hope to get this afternoon?

(student) Things that are written right here on the wall. Most of them are all the same. Like Negroes want equal opportunity along with the climbers. The same thing with the greasers here. We need trust.

(student) That's very important; you need trust. It's gotten to the point don't nobody trust nobody. And that's all the student body's got to look up to. You know, if you've got a problem, you're supposed to take it to the administration. If you feel that your counselor couldn't handle it, you know, you go to the administration. And when you can't do that, what can you do?

The range of comments above make it quite clear youngsters are higly concerned about the quality of interpersonal relations and their own lack of influence in school affairs. But it also should be clear that the high school protests we have been talking about are directed not solely at changes in the organization of power and influence or in the character and quality of communication in schools. There are also some valued outcomes about the educational process that are being challenged and/or advocated. This is not to say that a call for conversation or dialogue, and an insistence upon some influence on the decisions that affect their own lives, are not valued outcomes in themselves; they certainly are. But in addition to those process-oriented values there are also some educational performance values to which youngsters are addressing themselves. For instance, it is apparent that many progressive educators have not been able to actualize their own liberal values in the organization of instruction. Despite administrative lip service to terms such as individuation of instruction, intellectual freedom, autonomy in course selection, the realization of each student's potential, the stimulation of controversy and the promotion of independent thinking, these values have not been sufficiently clarified or operationalized in the life of most public schools. Some protests have been undertaken in order to force the clarification and encourage the operationalization of such values on the part of adult instructors.

The quotations above are not atypical. They describe the reactions and perceptions of broad numbers of students and teachers in many secondary schools, particularly in schools with racially, economically or culturally heterogeneous populations. Just how representative such views are is a question we hope to answer with data being planned, collected or analyzed at present and in future programs. Included in these youngsters' comments, and in our own analyses, have been hints or suggestions regarding how things might be done differently. Let's turn now to a consideration of some new educational forms and policies.

IV Policy Alternatives

Our staff at the Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, the University of Michigan, recently has been involved in studies of high schools in the midst of the chaos and disrupiton discussed throughout this report. We have also been involved in a number of change efforts that have tried to: (1) discover how to intervene in a crisis situation to help conflict to be used in productive and humane ways; (2) understand how those apparent disasters called rebellions, insurrections or riots can and do stimulate change in previously resistant systems; and (3) experiment with the reorganization of high schools in ways that may be more responsive and creative than these schools were prior to the crises.[66]

From our experience and our review of the literature it is clear the educator need to develop and test some new models of what can be done in high schools which are exploding with the fruits of ignored, suppressed or otherwise unresolved inter racial and intergenerational tensions. The following models seem to us to have th potential for making a difference in these situations and for being attractive

[66]Such efforts are proceeding under the terms of a grant from the Ford Foundation to the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge.

enough to appeal to the various parties in such conflict. They are organized in terms of their relevance to the critical themes developed throughout this paper. The models discussed are not long term panaceas or solutions to the crises in our secondary school; rather, they are ways of initiating work on new forms of dialogue, involvement, management and instruction.

The several models presented here are delineated in the abstract, and they will need to be elaborated and researched in detail as they are actually tested in field settings. Any effort to improve a school's operation probably would utilize a mix of several strategies at once or in a carefully designed sequence. Furthermore, before actually using any of these strategies in a given school, one would have to examine its feasibility with that particular staff, student and community clientele and situation.

Internal problem solving efforts

Throughout the school year, throughout all the overt and covert crisis situations, grievances and issues will be raised which demand examination and change. In order to respond to this continual pressure for school change, educational systems may find it fruitful to set aside periods of time when members of competing interest groups can work together as problem solving units. Participants in such activities could collaborate to diagnose the major problems in the school, to interpret their character and causes, to generate some alternative procedures for responding to major issues, and to implement some of these possibilities in new school procedures.

One way of institutionalizing such problem-solving procedures is to designate certain students and staff members as permanent members of an ongoing team. In order to respond effectively to a wide range of views on different issues, the membership of such a team should include leaders of the various racial, status and

generational sub-groups within the school. This team could also be responsible for linking to other groups in the school and ultimately leading group inquiry, confrontation and resolution sessions for various classes or sub-groups. The teachers, students and administrators so involved would require special instruction in the problem solving process, in conflict analysis, and in intergroup and intra-group processes. The efforts of this diverse group of problem solvers to collaborate with one another will probably represent a microcosmic example of the problems involved in opening blocked channels of communication and cooperation throughout the school.

In order for such a design to be effective, the problem solving group would have to do more than talk about issues; they would have to design and suggest "solutions" to issues. These recommended "solutions" have to be implemented or otherwise responded to consistently; if not, such staff work and advice will be seen as busy work not connected to the real possibilities of change. Often, of course, school administrators have established problem-solving groups with exactly this "cooling-out" function in mind. This history of meaningless "talk" requires that administrators with more sincere concerns for change deal with a group's recommendations in good faith, publically, and quickly.

Organizational development and renewal

The character of the educational bureaucracy in one's own school could be the focus of some change designs. This is an organizational focus distinct from the concern with change in certain individuals, whether students, teachers or administrators. Since one of the common complaints of teachers and students is their institutionalized separation within the school, it might be possible to organize task-relevant groups that require peer interaction among teachers, among students, and among teachers and students. Recent research in organizational

management suggests that productive system operations require interpersonal relations that support each members 'sense of personal worth and importance."[67] In addition, the full potential of all the persons in a system can be realized most effectively when "each person...is a member of one or more effectively functioning work groups that have a high degree of group loyalty, effective skills of interaction, and high performance goals."[68]

The implication of such findings is that task groups should be formed that require organizational members to link with one another in emotionally supportive ways that contribute to the performance of their professional roles. The principal and a small group of teachers could become a working unit that undertakes joint decision making, goal setting and supervision and evaluation activities. Similarly, small groups of students might meet with their teacher formally and continually to discuss classroom procedures, to establish personal goals and to evaluate student and teacher performance. The essential requirement is that atomistic forms of interaction between one principal and a mass of teachers, or between one teacher and a mass of students, to be replaced by cross-status units that are communally responsible for system management.

Another key element of organizational development work in schools could be the attempt to build in patterns of self-generating renewal, whereby the system of collaboration and change established becomes "sufficiently viable to continuously adapt to its changing environment and its own internal forces...(thus) learning how to learn."[69] Such institutionalization of a continuing effort to adapt to

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[67] Bowers, D. and Seashore, S. Predicting organizational effectiveness with a four-factor theory of leadership. Administrative Science Quarterly, 1966, 11, 238-263, p. 246.

[68] Ibid., p. 246.

[69] Buchanan, P. The concept of organizational development or self-renewal, as a form of planned change. In G. Watson (Ed.) Concepts for Social Change, Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories-National Education Association, 1967, p. 2.

changing conditions and pressures inhibits the possibility that the organization will regress to its former state or that changes, once made, will themselves become calcified traditions impervious to new events. Renewal is seen, in this context, as a continuing process of organizational learning or changing over time.

A critical question pertinent to programs of organizational renewal is whether important change can thus be generated and implemented without some alteration in the allocation and distribution of power. Rational and collaborative organizational change, like problem solving, is only likely to be open and rational when vested interests are not threatened, or when people have great loyalty to commonly held goals that take priority over sub-group or personal goals. If these conditions do not exist, the cross-status collaboration necessary for such programs to work rests upon assumptions of powerful members' good faith and low status persons' ability to tread lightly on the vested interests or disparite concerns of high status members. However, when lower status groups are invested with power, either of the formal-legitimate or disruptive-coercive variety, they can exert their own conditions and desires for change in a more forceful and effective manner--in a manner that demands attention and response.

Reciprocality in human and role relations

Our analysis of the issues in student-teacher interactions suggest that simple courtesies and respect for one another are often lacking in these relationships. With teachers hiding under the cover of professionalism, and students ducking behind their own cloak of apathy or non-involvement, students and teachers often collude to stay apart from one another. At the same time, members of both groups report that they would like to interact in ways that strengthen their own and others' sense of human worth and intimacy. In this context one can consider the design of change efforts that seek to explore and involve more personal and intimate possibilities in human relationships.

Certain forms of sensitivity training have been designed to focus upon increasing participants' ability to understand and respond to their own and others' feelings and behaviors. A workshop or conference series focussing upon interpersonal sensitivity might surface previously hidden feelings, and provide participants with greater clarity about the way they affect others and greater skill in responding in more open and accepting ways.[70]

The central problem in using this model is how such personal insights can be translated into ongoing behavior, and/or even into new organizational forms. Even if the individual members begin to respond, to relate, to care for one another in new ways, they will need a social system that encourages and supports such behavior. The inclusion of a large group of persons in such a program might help establish a system's receptivity to more diffuse social interaction. But a more likely possibility would be the development and inclusion of some of the other forms suggested here, especially those focussing upon structural change in schools.

Training faculty and staff to deal with racial relations

The studies that discuss teachers' attitudes and skills all stress the difficulties experienced by white and middle class adults who are working with Negro and lower class youngsters. Moreover, some reports document the negative encounters and inhibitions to learning which youngsters experience with incompetent, disaffected or uninterested teachers. For these reasons a focus upon the retraining of the instructional cadre seems to be a fruitful direction for change. The teacher's values and methods both are appropriate targets, and the general expectation is that in-service training can help teachers increase their insights,

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[70] See the discussion and examples in: Gibb, J. Climate for trust formation. In K. Benne, L. Bradford, and J. Cribb. T-Group theory and laboratory method. New York, Wiley, 1964.

wisdom and repetoire of interactional and instructional skills.[71] The assumption that improving teachers understandings and skills will change their behavior may or may not be tenable in this context. Therefore, it would be helpful to acquaint teachers with the new realities of power in student-teacher and black-white relationships; this can be done either by instruction or direct example.

In addition to the retraining of individual teachers, it seems relevant to engage in programs that focus upon improving instructional procedures among small groups of colleagues. Through this emphasis staff members may make fuller utilization of peer resources and become more helpful to one anothers' continuing professional growth. The greatest barrier to change as a function of in-service training lies in the lack of continuing institutional support for such new objectives and skills. The inclusion of several teachers or an entire staff of teachers and administrators in a training program may help reduce this barrier. Furthermore, in those schools where the staff is racially mixed, the opportunity may arise for a focus upon staff relational patterns around racial matters. To the extent that desegregating a faculty or adding black members to a predominantly white faculty may aid these staff interactional and student instructional goals, they can be recommended and appropriate personnel policies.

Some more recent training designs have begun to include students as part of the change-oriented program. This innovation has been based on the twin notions that: (1) students know best how teachers really behave, and; (2) students can confront teachers with that reality more forcefully and effectively than can the more abstract presentations of scientists or other interpreters of the youth scene.

Training for negotiation - both escalation and de-escalation

This model of school change is derived from the assumption that crises will continue to occur, and that the ability to escalate or de-escalate conflict and

[71] Some illustrative retraining goals and techniques are discussed in Chesler, M. Teacher training designs for improving instruction in interracial classrooms. Proceedings of the National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities. Washington, D C., United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1968.

negotiation situations is crucial. It would involve training programs with the established leadership of administration, faculty and student councils on the one hand, and/or with "agitators", linkers to alienated groups and protestors, or leaders of the "contra-structure" on the other hand. The major thrust would be to increase sophistication about the knowledge of outcomes and alternatives available, to both rebellious and established groups, in dealing with the escalation or de-escalation of conflict and the adjudication of grievances. In one sense we are talking about exploration and skill development in strategies of political organization and expression. In other, less political, contexts one could be talking about training "change-agents".

A critical goal would be to help students and faculty members learn when and how to bargain or negotiate with one another. Students, and similar groups without access to legitimate power, probably will need to learn when and how to escalate conflict in order to encourage or coerce a negotiating posture by school officials. There could be no intention here to co-opt or manipulate agitative groups; rather the attempt would be to help them to perform a more rational and effective job of raising problems, of working on their resolution, and of initiating the school changes implied.

It is also clear that many administrators "panic" at the prospect of disruptive conflict and crisis. For them, too, training in the movement from crisis to negotiation, and from negotiation to implementation might be helpful. Given traditional managerial responses to conflict it also would be important to be alert to the danger of training administrators to "cool-off" conflict without serious intention to negotiate or change. In some circumstances both protesting and establishment groups could be in the same workshop learning together, but such a structure runs the danger of developing collaborative problem solving patterns as distinguished from negotiating postures. This is not to say we are opposed to collaboration, merely that it is a different model.

Curriculum

The general purpose of this approach would be to focus upon modifications of the curriculum itself as the primary target of change. In pursuit of such an orientation one could also design new courses which take as their topic of concern the state of current school affairs and its possible change. Innovations in this area would also help meet the need for new models for the transmission of intellectual content and experience. The recent literature on schools contains many suggestions for curriculum reformation, and we will explicate only a few here.

Formal courses that are designed to teach about, analyze and work on the issues confronting the schools could meet regularly with several teachers and/or the principal of the high school. The students' job may be to learn about schools, to be an improved and realistic student government, to design a new way of running the high school in the next year, or to involve all parties in dialogue or change efforts. When students get course-credit for such work and planning it is not seen as an extra curricular activity, but rather as something fundamental to the educational process. This planning activity for a small group could be broadened into a course for large numbers of students, wherein the study of their own institutions and views would become part of the legitimate curriculum. Thus both intellectual growth and the application of knowledge to school affairs are the hoped for outcomes here.

More effective forms of political socialization have been suggested wherein curriculum offerings would "provide more meaningful opportunities than are now available for those who wish to engage in different types of action."[72] Reality-oriented courses, action experiences in the field, counseling for action and

[72]Newmann, F. Political socialization in the schools, Harvard Education Review, 1968, 38, 536-545, p. 537.

integrative seminars are all suggested. Newmann suggests great care be exercised to avoid one of the most dangerous aspects of such activities, namely the effort to turn them into non-conflictful game-playing or school-serving programs. Students definitely need to be actively involved in political events, but "to the extent that students choose action experiences to please school authorities or enhance their dossiers, rather than out of genuine need to protect and advance intrinsic interests, activism becomes a farce."[73] When such active political concerns become part of the curriculum, as students generate school-community controversy, additional pressures will be placed on school administrators to constrain such dissent, activism and political organization. How and whether administrators can resist, reduce or teach about such pressures is essential to students' learning about real political forms and processes.

Other aspects of the content of secondary school curricula also need serious review and modification. For instance, up to date vocational courses, on-the-job training programs, and offerings in "black history" and "culture" are the most relevant foci of current student and community protests against prevailing irrelevant and abstract curricular designs. Attempts to offer greater choice in curriculum, course selection, and scheduling of their own time may also be fruitful responses to students' desires for autonomy, initiative and personal responsibility.

Community involvement in educational processes

The purpose of this model is to engage as broadly based a group of community members and institutions as possible in the examination and discussion of real school issues and problems. In those cases where the decision making apparatus is not changed, this approach could utilize representatives of all elements of

[73] Ibid, p. 543.

the socialization community--police, ministry, industry, YMCA, racial and ethnic associations, parent association, youth clubs, and other groups concerned with young people to help design new school programs. A steering committee representing the various groups could be trained to plan and design a series of events, brief workshops and conferences or longer term programs of collaboration, which could contribute to school problem solving. As a medium for school reports to the community, as a forum for the solicitation of responses from community advocates, and as an initiator of school-community programs this approach could lead to the implementation of several other models discussed here.

New educational programs using a broader range of community resources might require schools to extend into community affairs and locations, as well as to reach out to enlist community members in educational policies and affairs. In practice, this might mean the utilization of store front classrooms, of freedom schools, and of the establishment of course credit for varied experiences both inside and outside the school. It also could mean the use of out-of-school youth or parents as teachers or para-professionals, and the inclusion of community and community agency personnel as advisors to principals, teachers and students.

Community accountability and control

This particular model represents an effort to move towards greater community influence in school affairs. One way of generating community attention to school problems could lie in the general effort to make schools and faculty members publicly accountable to the clients whom they serve. Efforts at publishing the average reading scores in a school and then comparing such scores across several schools is one way a community can begin to assess a staff's performance. Simply, report cards can be seen as evaluations of teachers' as well as students' skills. In this way parents may be able to hold schools more accountable for what is done with their children.

Actual modification of the school's decision making apparatus to include community representation in policy planning is another viable extension of this model. Further removed from the possibility of entanglement in administrative responsibilities is the concept of a local school board which would exercise community control over policy matters in the neighborhood school.[74] Mann discusses the formation of just such a community decision-making for an experimental school. Useful in its potential transferability to other schools, his design for this group includes parents and selected community leaders in recruiting, hiring and reviewing teachers, clerks and other special staff members, planning extra school activities for students and adults, and supervising school finance.[75] All of these variants of community influence carry with them the potential of creating or dramatizing conflict inherent in professionals' reactions to local control by non-professionals. But in addition, community agents would have to face the problem of learning how a school works and insuring adequate and continuing mechanisms of collaboration and co-direction. The elements of shared control discussed in this approach are not realized satisfactorily in the publicly elected school boards of large cities. These sources of community power simply are too far removed from the professionals and parents in local school districts and neighborhoods to insure adequate accountability on local policy matters.

Concern for community control of schools on a broader basis has been implemented recently in three demonstration districts within the New York City school system. Under the banner of school decentralization, governing boards composed

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[74]Raskin, M. Political Socialization in the schools, Harvard Educational Review, 1968, 38, 550-553.

[75]Mann, E. A new school for the ghetto, Our Generation, 1967, 5, 67-73.

of representatives of parents, teachers, supervisory personnel and community organizations have requested authority to do the following: recruit, appoint and evaluate teachers and supervisors; set instructional standards, curricula and materials; set budgetary policy and appoint unit administrators to run the demonstration districts.[76] All three New York experiments experienced difficulty in maintaining effective community representation, in opening communications across race and class cleavages, in receiving professional unions' and associations' cooperation, and in getting cooperation from the citywide Board of Education.[77] But such problems were to be expected, since in these cases the demonstration ideas and plans originated in the community and not in the educational apparatus itself. Evaluators of these experiments, while not satisfied or unrealistic about current progress, "feel that with better preparation, a longer period of planning and transition, and more cooperation from school officials, many of the problems which have held back the projects could have been avoided."[78]

Whether we have been discussing community-school communication and/or influence accountability and/or control, single school districts and/or multi-school districts, it is clear that the varied themes within this umbrella model of increasing community potency in school-community activities need to be further developed and tested. Clearly these avenues of change hold great promise for healing much of the alienation and disaffection that typifies urban educational systems.

Establishing grievance processing systems

The essential concern in this model is to establish procedures and structures that surface and corrent injustice and feelings of injustice in schools. One

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[76] Report on three demonstration projects in the city schools. New York, Commission on Human Rights, 1968.

[77] Ibid

[78] Ibid, p. 19-20

innovation consistent with this concern might involve an "ombudsman" which could oversee and adjudge grievances in each school.[79] This person or unit could take the form of a teacher or several students who have the right to enter any teacher's classroom and to observe what's going on. Their charge would be to find conflict where it is, to surface suppressed conflict or grievances, and to help get such issues dealt with quickly. They would have the mission to discover, to receive, perhaps to escalate, and to publicize facts and feelings about injustice to a level of awareness where they can be dealt with before they explode into crisis and warfare. In order to perform this job, the role occupants would have to be seen as relatively invulnerable and universal presenters of school injustices. There is no question that they would have to be concerned with the full range of school issues, as much with student or principal injustices to teachers as well as vice versa.

Such a concept also could implement the various appeals systems discussed by Scott.[80] Parties who present grievances to this body would have to be assured of their right to bypass the normal chain of command (i.e., going directly to the principal without checking with teachers), they would have to be encouraged to utilize this procedure, and they would have to know where and how to locate the persons available for appeal. Moreover, the aggrieved parties need to be protected from potential retaliation, as must the targets of grievance be protected from unjustified trial by slander. In order to prepare for such eventualities, it would seem vital that role occupants and the institution itself will need to define carefully this role, to provide some protection to the occupants, to decide

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[79] This concept is explicated Rowat, D. (Ed) The Ombudsman: Citizens Defender, London, Allen and Unwin, 1965.

[80] Scott, op. cit.

how critical information is to be received or gathered, to suggest how power and legitimacy will be made available, and to decide and test how resolutions can be implemented in fruitful ways. Persons filling this role--students, teachers or lay persons--will need special training to prepare them for their new functions. For instance, it will be vital for them to discriminate between the petty and the fundamental, or the temporary and systemic in grievances. Such a person or group could get so bogged down in individual concerns about homework or grades so as to be unable to respond to broad concerns regarding injustice, disrespect or discrimination.

Scott points out that it is common practice for final judicial appeals in organizations to be made to a line executive, in the case of schools to the principal or superintendent. The latter alternative separates the appeal or judiciary process from immediate administrative jurisdiction, while maintaining executive control. The use of an extra-school body as the recipient of final appeal, a device which further separates judicial and executive processes, is an attractive and probably feasible alternative.

Establishing new configurations of internal power

The central issue here would be to experiment with the extension of the concept of shared power to the creation of committees of students, faculty and administrators that would set local curricula, would conduct judicial proceedings, and would actually participate in making school policy. This does not mean simply revamping the old, out worn kinds of student governments or the inclusion of a couple of "good" students as advisory members in occasional faculty meetings. At this stage of the game such tokens will not satisfy students who know their student government has not been a meaningful political system in the past. One new structure could involve handing major decision making power over to a student-faculty government system, wherein the principal would operate as an executive secretary responsib

to this plural status group. Students as well as faculty might gain important experience and learning in the test of new kinds of representative politics. Also, teachers and administrators will have an opportunity to learn how to deal with the school in a representative political, as well as a responsibly professional, manner.

Of course, in all of these areas if we want to create anything but brief test sequences and ultimate failure we will have to train and prepare participants for the skillful performance of their new roles. The members of any new decision-making structure will have several special problems which would include the following: solving problems of their own representativeness; gaining legitimacy from their respective constituents; dealing with one another fruitfully; coping with newly shared power in establishing their will on policy alternatives; and interpreting their experiment to the extra-school community.

This structural alteration will not work without serious and successful attempts to establish new representational systems. Participation of students and faculty at the highest levels of decision-making must be so managed that their constituents really feel represented, and not merely formally recognized. After all, replacing one principal with six students may change the status of decision-makers without affecting the rest of the students' and faculty's feelings of distance and alienation from power. To deal with such a call for new political processes within the organization probably requires making a portion of some classrooms into miniature political groups, where school issues are constantly discussed and debated, and where demands upon decision-making are formulated.

This model has been limited deliberately to a discussion of power arrangements among internal interest groups. There is also the possibility of including parental and community agents in broadening the scope of these arrangements to include the influence of external forces discussed earlier.

Crisis intervention

While these models are being developed, schools across the nation will still be experiencing crises of various sorts. One emergency measure that could be developed would be the training and establishment of a core of "troubleshooters"; persons who could respond to crises with immediately helpful on-the-spot diagnoses, questions and suggestions. It is not our notion that these persons be prepared to "cap a flaming well" or otherwise dilute confrontation; rather that they might help use the crisis to surface real issues in ways that permit open responses and hard work. In fact, such consultants might help catalyze a school's needs for help into creative investments in models and programs such as the ones discussed here.

These teams obviously have to be careful about the ethical postures and the terms upon which they enter a school system. There is no integrity in suggesting that youngsters should take off their armor or power and walk into the wolf's den unless administrators are placed in a similarly vulnerable posture; both should be prepared to do serious bargaining. Neither can dogmatically pro-student, anti-establishment consultants be permitted to use their neutral entry to attack the administrative apparatus with impunity. Under tense circumstances students, faculty, and administrators will need assurances of each others' good will, or at least their willingness to negotiate in good faith.

Such a "troubleshooter", or group of troubleshooters, would have to be able to establish communication and negotiation links across communities of people of different races, classes, ages and neighborhoods. Clearly there are some persons across the country who could be depended upon to be wise, just and helpful in such situations; just as clearly, more are needed.

Finally

In all these areas it stands to reason there is no point in entering into cross-racial or cross-generational dialogue unless people really are prepared to

do more than talk about change. And those who are prepared to change will have to demonstrate that very quickly. There have been so many false starts, so many unkept promises, so many unworthy trusts, that one can't blame disaffected students and adults for not investing heavily in more promises. The revolutionary energy contained in student and community protests is deserving of rational and meaningful responses from school personnel who are aware of the need for change. Some administrators are prepared already to respond to the threat of disruption by making changes, correcting injustices, and otherwise initiating reforms in their schools. Others continue to evade, deny or suppress the issues presented herein. By and large, protesting student and community groups are eager and willing to talk and to make new starts with responsive systems; but it is not clear how long they will stay this way in the face of abject resistance.

It seems worthwhile, in terms of the stakes that are abound, for students and educators to invest in some dialogue; but it is necessary to caution educators to invest in dialogue only if they are willing to commit themselves to take some action on the just grievances presented. If they are not, dialogue might as well, and will, be replaced by shouts across empty classrooms, hallways and school yards. For when it comes to a test of raw power, the disruptive power of organized groups of students pursuing rational and just ends will close the schools, the careers of school men, and the possibility of quality education.